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AMERICAN SOCIALIST

VOL. IV. NO. 1.

TRADE UNION COUNCIL CHICAGO 304

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JULY 14, 1917.

25 CENTS FOR SIX MONTHS: 50 CENTS PER YEAR: \$1 PER YEAR, OUTSIDE UNITED STATES

The People's Council

On July 7 and 8, the Second American Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace convened in Chicago and was a great success. Delegates came from all over the Union, a delegate from California speaking next to a delegate from New Jersey. Delaware was represented with Nebraska; Indiana and Michigan sat together. Nearly seven hundred registrations were received, of which about five hundred attended the conference.

Sessions were held in the Auditorium Recital Hall, which seats 450 persons. The conference opened Saturday morning, July 7 at 10 o'clock, with an address by Irwin St. John Tucker, chairman of the Chicago Conference on Democracy and Terms of Peace. The first day's session was devoted to a discussion of the Conscription Law and the rights of Conscientious Objectors. Speakers were Hon. William E. Mason, Congressman at large from Illinois; Frank Stephens, Single Taxer, of Arden, Delaware; E. C. Wentworth of Chicago, and others.

At the afternoon session Prof. Scott Nearing, formerly of the University of Toledo, presided. The discussion was on Taxation and Finance in War Time. Speakers were, William W. Clay, Prof. Lindley M. Kasey of the University of Texas, Prof. Charles F. Zueblin of Northwestern, and many volunteers from the floor.

At the evening session Morris Hillquit presided, and made an eloquent and thrilling speech on the subject of "Forces Making for Democracy in Europe and America." Various nationalities were represented in the discussion; Miss Laura Hughes spoke for Canada, N. A. Stolar for Russia, Christian M. Madson for the Scandinavian countries, Prof. F. A. Scheville of the University of Chicago for the Balkan states, Miss Mary O'Reilly for Ireland, Carl D. Thompson for the United States, and Caleb Garrison of the Socialist Labor Party ended the discussion by an exposition of economic forces in the world at large.

At the Sunday morning's meeting, resolutions were adopted, and plans for the People's Council of America were discussed. The Constituent Assembly of this organization is to meet in Minneapolis on September 1st. Every organization in the United States, with membership from 50 to 1,000, is entitled to send one delegate. The Socialist Party is represented on the People's Council by Alpheus Germer, Irwin Tucker, and Algernon Lee being on the national organizing committee; Seymour Stedman and Robert H. Howe are delegates from the Cook County Socialist party; and many locals and county branches have elected delegates.

The plan is to secure delegates from all labor unions, scientific societies, fraternal orders, and public organizations of all kinds, in order to secure a fair representation of the popular will. This Constituent Assembly will draw up plans for permanent organization of the People's Council for the time of the war.

The sole object and purpose of this organization is to be the preservation of Democracy during the war and the securing of ample public discussion of the terms of peace.

On Sunday afternoon a great mass meeting was held in the Riverview Park base ball amphitheater in Chicago. The location of this meeting had been changed several times owing to considerable opposition from financial interests. The Riverview Park grounds seat some five thousand persons, and although in the open air, the acoustics are nearly perfect. Speakers were Irwin Tucker, who presided, Prof. Lindley M. Kasey, Miss Laura Hughes, Congressman William E. Mason, James H. Maurer, and Seymour Stedman. The resolutions adopted at the morning session were passed by a unanimous vote amid great cheering.

Branches of the People's Council have been organized in Milwaukee, where a great mass meeting was held on the night of July 9—in Cincinnati, in St. Louis, in Peoria, and in many other cities throughout the Middle West. The movement, say the national organizers, is spreading like wildfire. Its system of organization appeals to the minds of many as being the best suited to this present crisis, and the fact that so many prominent socialists are represented on the organization committee is evidence that Socialists may join it without compromise of party principles.

The headquarters of the organization are at 2 West Thirteenth Street, New York City. Louis P. Lochner is executive secretary.

Look For

"Our Birthday"

Subscription Blank

On Page Three

Make Good
Use Of It!

Readers For The
American Socialist
Now Means Party
Members Later On

Socialist Party Sends Committee To Washington To Confer With Postal Officials On Press Problem

IN AN effort to reach a definite interpretation of the Espionage Act, adopted by congress, June 15, 1917, and its application to the Socialist, trade union and radical press, the national executive committee of the Socialist Party has decided to send a committee of attorneys to Washington, D. C., to take the matter up with the postoffice officials at the national capital.

That this is entirely satisfactory to the Washington authorities is indicated by a telegram received from our Washington representative as follows.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE OFFICIALS DESIRE CONFERENCE THIS WEEK WITH SOCIALIST PARTY COMMITTEE; HILLQUIT, DARROW, STEDMAN, WALSH, REGARDING ENFORCEMENT OF ACT, JUNE 15TH. MUTUALLY AGREED TO WITHHOLD STATEMENT DEPARTMENT'S POSITION PENDING CONFERENCE."

The situation confronting the Socialist, trade union and radical press as a result of the interpretation of the act of congress, June 15th, was the most important matter to come before the party national executive committee at its meeting in Chicago, July 6-7.

Clarence Darrow, the well known labor lawyer, and Seymour Stedman, one of the most prominent lawyers in the Socialist Party, attended the meeting of the national executive committee; Morris Hillquit, the distinguished Socialist and labor attorney of New York City, being a member of the committee.

They agreed that the law could be differently interpreted and felt that the best way to reach some definite decision was to go to Washington to confer with the authorities there.

It was agreed that Darrow, Stedman and Hillquit, with Frank P. Walsh, of Kansas City, Mo., chairman of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations appointed by President Wilson, should make up the committee.

The committee plans to see Postmaster General Burleson and confer with him on the general status of the Socialist, trade union and radical press during the war, irrespective of the provisions of the act of June 15th. It is also felt that it will be possible to secure a conference with President Wilson.

Editors and business managers of many of the Socialist papers that had already been held up were present at the executive committee meeting and detailed statements were submitted in writing, outlining their experiences.

Statements were submitted for THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST, Chicago; Socialist News, Cleveland; Michigan Socialist, Detroit; St. Louis Labor and Social Revolution, St. Louis, Mo.; International Socialist Review, Chicago, and The Rebel, Hallettsville, Texas.

These statements were turned over to Morris Hillquit who will reduce them into a general statement in order to be the better able to present the matter to the post office authorities at Washington.

This issue of THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST is the result of a sincere effort on the part of the editor to comply with the law; basing his judgment on the advice he has so far been able to get.

Many of our readers, because of the announcement that the issue of June 30th had been held up, are of the belief that the paper has been completely suppressed.

For the benefit of these readers and to correct this misunderstanding we wish to repeat part of the statement that appeared in last week's issue as follows.

"OUR PAPER WILL BE PUBLISHED REGULARLY. EVERY EFFORT WILL BE MADE TO COMPLY WITH THE LAW AND AT THE SAME TIME ISSUE A PUBLICATION THAT WILL BE A CREDIT TO THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT. THERE SHOULD BE NO LET-UP IN GETTING SUBSCRIPTIONS. WE MUST CONTINUE TO RELY ENTIRELY ON YOUR EFFORTS IN INCREASING OUR ARMY OF READERS, NOW AS ALWAYS."

Additional information as to just what the post office department considers unmailable is contained in a statement received from the manager of Das Rationale Leben (Rational Living), a Yiddish monthly, that, "the solicitor for the post office department has declared our June issue as non-mailable on account of an article addressed to conscientious objectors against this war."

The fate of other publications is given in a Washington, July 7th, dispatch to The Chicago Journal as follows:

The mails have been barred to numerous publications for opposition to the war since the espionage act was approved June 15, it was learned today. The latest stop order was issued against the Appeal to Reason, socialist weekly, of Girard, Kansas.

Among other publications one or more issues of which have been barred by the postoffice department, are Tom Watson's Jeffersonian, Georgia, and the Four Lights, organ of the woman's peace party of New York.

Almost daily since June 15, according to an official of the department today, some anti-war, socialist or pacifist publication has been barred.

The penalties in the espionage act have not yet been invoked in any case, but it is reported that Postmaster General Burleson, Solicitor Lamar and Provost Marshal Gen. Crowder have decided upon more stringent action in the future. The maximum penalty is \$10,000 fine, or twenty years' imprisonment, or both.

We have just received a copy of the July 7th issue of The People's Press of Philadelphia, Pa. All of the columns are blank except for the usual advertising while the first page contains a statement that the June 30th issue is being held by the post office.

A later Washington dispatch appearing in the Chicago Examiner states that:

"Washington, July 9.—Objectionable numbers of a score of radical periodicals have been suppressed by the government since the beginning

of the war thru powers conferred on the postoffice department in the espionage bill, signed by the President June 15.

"Among the publications affected the best known are The Masses, edited by Max Eastman; The American Socialist, owned by the Socialist party; and The Appeal to Reason, published at Girard, Kansas.

"Meyer London, representative of the Socialist party in Congress, is to ask unanimous consent for a twenty-minute address on the suppression of newspapers. He will then introduce a resolution calling on Postmaster General Burleson for information regarding the suppressions."

An Investigation Is Asked

Washington, D. C., July 10.—A sweeping investigation of the post office department's activities in suppressing newspapers and periodicals by excluding them from the mails under the censorship authority contained in the espionage law, approved June 15, was demanded in a resolution introduced in the House today by Representative London, of New York.

The resolution calls particularly for the name of every newspaper, periodical, book, circular, print, or publication excluded from the mails under the operation of the department's censorship, and demands the reasons assigned by Postmaster General Burleson for such exclusion. It also asks for the instructions issued by the Postmaster General to local postmasters for the enforcement of the censorship provisions, as well as the correspondence relative thereto between the postoffice department and other departments of the government.

The resolution is directed against the action of the post office department in withholding from the mails the following Socialist publications: The American Socialist, Chicago; The Michigan Socialist, Detroit; The Socialist News, Cleveland; St. Louis Labor, St. Louis; The Social Revolution, St. Louis; The Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas; The Rebel, Hallettsville, Texas; The People's Press, Philadelphia; The Masses, New York; and The International Socialist Review, Chicago. All of these papers have been denied the privilege of the mails by Postmaster General Burleson, the department's assigned reason being that they are in violation of the espionage law.

The text of Representative London's resolution follows:

Resolved, by the House of Representatives, that the postmaster general shall make an investigation of the post office department with the House with the following information:

Has any print, newspaper, circular, periodical or other publication been denied the privileges of the mails in the enforcement of the espionage law?

Any print, circular, book, publication, periodical, or newspaper has been so denied the privileges of the mails, the name or names of such print, circular, book, publication, periodical, or newspaper, and the date or dates when the privileges of the mails were denied to such publications.

As any reason been assigned to the publisher or publishers, writer or owners, or any of the said publications at the time the privileges of the mails were denied, and if any such reason has been assigned, information as to the reason or reasons so assigned.

Is any instruction or have any instructions been issued by the postmaster general or the postoffice department to local postmasters relative to the enforcement of the espionage law? What are these instructions if any such have been issued?

The correspondence between the postoffice department and other departments of the government relative to the enforcement of the espionage law, the disclosure of which correspondence is not incompatible with the public interest.

The resolution was referred to House Committee on Postoffices and Post Roads. It is expected that the committee will give an opportunity for hearings at which the editors of the victimized newspapers will tell the story of their contest with Postmaster General Burleson for the liberty of the press.

"It has surely never been contemplated by congress that every postmaster and every assistant district attorney should constitute himself a regulator of speech and a censor of the press," said Representative London, regarding his resolution for an investigation of the postoffice department's activities in suppressing newspapers and periodicals under the censorship authority contained in the espionage law, approved June 15. "The man has not yet been born upon whom the American people are ready to confer the power of determining what people shall think and what they shall say. The guarantees of freedom of speech and freedom of the press cannot be suspended. Not only are these guarantees contained in the constitution, but these rights are inseparable from civilized life."

"In two speeches during the discussion of the espionage bill I pointed out the danger of restrictions upon the press contained in sections other than that famous section 4, in the defeat of which the papers took so much pride."

"A country at war has a right and owes a duty to itself to keep away from the enemy all information as to the movements or contemplated movements of its armies and navies."

"The right to disagree with the administration as to policies cannot be surrendered by the people."

"The attempt to suppress by law all expressions of disapproval of the policies or methods of the government would result in a tyranny which no civilized nation can endure."

"In every European country more than one cabinet has been changed since the beginning of the war."

"Just think of having a Socialist newspaper censored by some uninformed postmaster, who may be quite an expert in his line, but to whom the word 'Socialism' carries the same menace which the words 'Republic' or 'Democracy' carried to the tories of old."

"The attempted suppression of nearly a dozen Socialist papers should be an awful warning to the press and to the people of America that the effort of officials to create a censorship of opinion should be immediately frustrated by the people."

"I want congress and the country to know the facts."

(FROM THE NEW YORK CALL)
**Socialists Will Get
Hearing On Gag Protest**

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE OFFICIALS AGREE TO LISTEN TO PARTY PRESS COMMITTEE.

Washington, July 7.—Department of justice officials in charge of the act approved June 15, 1917, commonly known as the espionage law, expressed a willingness today in an interview with Julius Pierce, Socialist national committeeman, to hold a conference with a committee of the Socialist party which have been the basis of the recent indictments of Socialists by federal grand juries for alleged anti-conscription and related activities, as well as the authority for the post-office department's action in withholding Socialist papers from the United States.

The conference will be held some time during the coming week at the department of justice in this city. National Committeeman Pierce suggested that the officials receive Meyer London, Socialist representative from New York, and the committee appointed by the national executive committee to take up the matter of the exclusion from the mails of numerous Socialist papers by the postoffice department. This committee consists of Morris Hillquit of New York, Clarence Darrow and Seymour Stedman of Chicago and Frank P. Walsh of Kansas City.

"Most of the trouble between the Socialists and the department of justice and the postoffice department," said Pierce in an interview for The Call, "has been caused by Section 3 of Title 1 of the act approved June 15. This section declares that whoever, when the United States is at war, shall wilfully cause or attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty in the military or naval forces of the United States, or shall wilfully obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States to the injury of the service of the United States, shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$10,000, or punishment for not more than 20 years, or both."

"The censorship chapter provides that any matter in violation of any provision of the act shall be non-mailable. The most of the papers withheld from the mails by the postoffice department have been withheld because of matter alleged to be in violation of some one or more of the sweeping provisions of section 3."

"Believing that Socialists in general, and Socialist editors in particular, were unfamiliar with the stringent provisions of the act, as well as its drastic penalties, I took the matter up with the officials of the department of justice some days ago."

"I told the department that in the public interest it would be a good policy for the department to do away certain typical passages in the censored papers which were deemed to be in violation of the act. I said I was concerned with the Socialist party and that they violate the law, and that the editors of the Socialist papers were violating their papers in conformity with the law just as agents were interpreting it."

Agree. —

"In the interest of understanding the meaning of the legislation, I submitted to certain officials documents of the Socialist party, and the request that the department do away with certain typical passages which were deemed to be in violation of the act. This they agreed to do."

"We further desired that the officials do away with the enforcement of the espionage law in certain cases. In view of the fact that the act of June 15th is entirely new and being used by the United States attorneys and the postoffice department to suppress many actions, never before been lawful, I thought the department should have the benefit of the views of the best legal authority in the Socialist party. For this reason I requested the officials today to withhold the statement being prepared for me in answer to my request until the national committee appointed on suppression of the press conferred with them. This was agreed to as desirable."

"The department of justice officials," concluded Pierce, "impressed me as being willing to reach a mutual understanding with the Socialists relative to the law. Authorized to enforce a new statute with such sweeping provisions, they manifested a desire to confer with the legal representatives of the party regarding the proper interpretations to be placed upon these sections which have caused the Socialists the most trouble."

"It is confidently expected that by the end of the week the government will definitely declare its policy, and it is expected that its rigors in the direction of the repression of freedom of speech and liberty of the press will be materially lessened."

Jeppe Borgbjerg, editor of the Copenhagen Social Demokraten, has taken the place of T. Stauning, Socialist minister without portfolio in the Danish cabinet, on the Scandinavian-Dutch Socialist committee. This will put an end to the parliamentary disagreements here arising from Stauning's participation in the recent Socialist conference at Stockholm.

Verwärts, the German Socialist organ, calls out warningly to the government: "Let none be blind to the fact that at this time a certain unrest is spreading throughout the nation."

The Wrangle Over Coal

By GILSON GARDNER.

Washington, D. C.—Government control or private control—which shall it be? This is the question involved in the wrangle over coal.

Shall the government have power to name a reasonable price on fuel and to control its distribution, or shall this be left to speculators?

President Wilson thinks it time to call a halt on speculation in this necessity. He favors the plan for control worked out by the federal trade commission. Secretary of War Baker agrees with him, as do Secretary of the Navy Daniels and Attorney General Gregory.

Opposed to the president are Franklin K. Lane, secretary of the interior, and the big coal operators who make up the coal committee of the advisory council of national defense. This is the committee headed by F. S. Peabody.

Railroad Bankers With Opposition.

Added to this opposition is a group of powerful railroad bankers, headed by what is known as the "steel trust crowd," who control the railroad facilities, including coal cars needed to carry on the coal industry.

These patriots are not averse to taking a famine price for coal, even if they have to make the famine to get the price.

Ex-Governor Fort of New Jersey, now a member of the federal trade commission, played the game of the privileged interests, as led by Peabody and Lane.

Fort sat in their "conference" at which it was agreed that a price of \$3 be made for coal at the mouth of the mine. Fort's presence, like that of Secretary Lane, seemed to give official color to an action that was unauthorized and illegal under the Sherman law. Secretary Baker called attention to this fact in his now famous letter.

Private Interests Alarmed.

When the federal trade commission sent its report to the Senate about two weeks ago, showing why a coal famine exists, the private interests which control coal became alarmed. They saw they were threatened with a real government control. What should they do?

The answer was obvious. Everybody hurry to Washington. Get together there and make a loud noise like "patriotism." Then give out some press dope that the coal barons had suddenly reformed and were going to lay their cars, their mines and their sacred wallets on the altar of their beloved country. Let a cabinet officer sit in; also a federal trade commissioner, and declare this to be the action of the council of national defense.

Cars Control Coal Price.

The truth is that the price of coal

at the mine is not what counts. Cars at the mine are the necessity. The real coal barons are the CAR BARONS. The real coal trust is the RAILROAD TRUST, and until the coalcarrying facilities are pooled and brought under control of the government the coal famine will not be relieved.

The president knows this, and so do Baker, Daniels, Gregory and the members of the Senate committee on interstate commerce, who are now getting ready a bill to carry out the recommendations of the federal trade commission.

Senator Poinsett, a member of this committee, explains the matter thus:

"Under the proposed plan the government would become, for the moment, the owner of all coal as it came from the mines. The government would not attempt to operate mines or distribute coal. But, being the sole owner of all coal, the government would be in position to curb coal speculation and to insist that the coal go where needed."

Cost and "Reasonable" Profit.

"The plan contemplates using the same distributing agencies that always have done the work—the railroad, the wholesaler and the retailer. Everybody would be paid cost plus a reasonable profit for his service."

"But the government would be able to follow every ton of coal from the mine to the consumer, and to see that the consumer is served and that the middleman does not extort a famine or panic profit."

One by-product of the coal fight is likely to be abolition of the coal committee of the council of national defense, as it is now made up. This committee has exhibited everything except patriotism, and is redtagged for an early canning.

To Save Rena Mooney

With every hope of securing an acquittal the defense in the case of Mrs. Rena Mooney has opened its case in the San Francisco courts where this famous labor trial grinds slowly along. Attorney Maxwell McNutt, in his opening statement, confined his address to definite points of issue in the state's case.

He promised to prove bald contradictions in the testimony of State witnesses and inaccuracies in time, as established by photographs of clocks, making it impossible for the defendants to have been at the places alleged by the prosecution and to establish alibis and identifications which absolutely would disprove all possible connection of Mrs. Mooney with the planting of the preparedness day bomb.

One of our recent recruits from Mineral Springs, Ark., writes: "I want the truth out of your paper. I have been reading a few copies of it and I endorse its get up."

How To Make The Change

By VICTOR L. BERGER.

SOCIALISM is the name of an epoch of civilization—the next epoch, if our civilization is to continue in existence.

We must not expect that the Socialist era will come all at once. Neither capitalism nor feudalism arose "at a certain date," nor can the Socialist form of society have its beginning on any fixed day.

BESIDES, altho capitalistic society

has already passed its zenith, yet even at the present day feudalism holds a very important place in modern society.

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The New Freedom

By WOODROW WILSON
President of The United States.

NOTE.—We take great pleasure, in this crisis confronting the American people, in publishing the accompanying extracts from Chapter III. of Woodrow Wilson's book, "The New Freedom". In later issues we shall have other extracts to present to our readers.

HERE are two theories of government that have been contending with each other ever since government began. One of them is the theory which in America is associated with the name of a very great man, Alexander Hamilton. A great man, but, in my judgment, not a great American. He did not think in terms of American life. Hamilton believed that the only people who could understand government, and therefore the only people who were qualified to conduct it, were the men who had the biggest financial stake in the commercial and industrial enterprises of the country.

That theory, the few now have the hardihood to profess it openly, has been the working theory upon which our government has lately been conducted. It is astonishing how persistent it is. It is amazing how quickly the political party which had Lincoln for its first leader—Lincoln, who not only denied, but in his own person so completely disproved the aristocratic theory,—it is amazing how quickly that party, founded on faith in the people, forgot the precepts of Lincoln and fell under the delusion that the "masses" needed the guardianship of "men of affairs".

For indeed, if you stop to think about it, nothing could be greater departure from original Americanism, from faith in the ability of a confident, resourceful, and independent people, than the discrediting doctrine that somebody has got to provide prosperity for the rest of us.

AND yet that is exactly the doctrine on which the government of the United States has been conducted lately. Who have been consulted when important measures of government, like tariff acts, and currency acts, and railroad acts, were under consideration? The people whom the tariff chiefly affects, the people for whom the currency is supposed to exist, the people who pay the duties and ride on the railroads? Oh, no! What do they know about such matters! The gentlemen whose ideas have been sought are the big manufacturers, the bankers, and the heads of the great railroad combinations. The masters of the government of the United States are the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States. It is written over every intimate page of the records of Congress, it is written all thru the history of conferences at the White House, that the suggestions of economic policy in this country have come from one source, not from many sources. The benevolent guardians, the kind-hearted trustees who have taken the troubles of government off our hands, have become so conspicuous that almost anybody can write out a list of them. They have become so conspicuous that their names are mentioned upon almost every political platform. The men who have undertaken the interesting job of taking care of us do not force us to repute them with anonymously directed gratitude. We know them by name.

Suppose you go to Washington and try to get at your government. You will always find that while you are politely listened to, the men really consulted are the men who have the biggest stake,—the big bankers, the big manufacturers, the big masters of commerce, the heads of railroad corporations and of steamship corporations. I have no objection to these men being consulted, because they also, though they do not themselves seem to admit it, are part of the people of the United States. But I do very seriously object to these gentlemen being CHIEFLY consulted, and particularly to their being exclusively consulted, for, if the government of the United States did do the right thing by the people of the United States, it has got to do it directly and not thru the intercession of these gentlemen. Every time it has come to a critical question these gentlemen have been yielded to, and their demands have been treated as the demands that should be followed as a matter of course.

self to the carrying out of great causes. Only the man who uses organization to promote private purposes is a boss. Always distinguish between a political leader and a boss. I honor the man who makes the organization of a great party strong and thorough, in order to use it for public service. But he is not a boss. A boss is a man who uses this splendid, open force for secret purposes.

* * *

ONE OF the worst features of the boss system is this fact, that it works secretly. I would a great deal rather live under a king whom I should at least know, than under a boss whom I don't know. A boss is a much more formidable master than a king, because a king is an obvious master, whereas the hands of the boss are always where you least expect them to be.

Applause From Russians

WOMEN Suffragists in Washington have been arrested wholesale for picketing the White House, armed with banners on which were conspicuously written quotations from President Wilson's speeches.

Russian Envoy Commends Women

The following letter was sent by Inspector N. A. Bessaraboff of the Russian commission to Miss Alice Paul of the Congressional Women Suffrage Union. It refers to the tearing of the women's banners by the crowd earlier this week:

"Miss Alice Paul.

My dear—I have just read about the deplorable incident near the white house.

"From all my heart and soul I am proud of the courage of American women, who so boldly demand real liberty and democracy.

"I pray all good forces in the world to give you the courage to stay unshaken, to find in high ideals unlimited forces of joy, helping you not to fall down spiritually.

"I am proud of Miss Burns and Mrs. Lewis, who stood so courageously despite the angry crowd.

"In Russia different kinds of oppressors did the very same thing as American police do now. Yet real liberty was won and there are no forces on the earth which could disprove humanity from it.

"With deepest respect and admiration,

"N. A. BESSARABOFF,
"Junior inspector of artillery, Russian commission."

Concerning Coal

Coal operators robbed the people of 650 million dollars last winter thru exorbitant prices, according to testimony taken at a government hearing in Washington, June 27 and 28.

W. S. Boyle of Chicago told the senate committee that coal operators are "entitled to make all they can."

Charles M. Moderwell of Chicago, told the committee that 400 per cent increases in the price of coal over last year were justifiable because coal operators, "being only human" had taken advantage of war demands to raise prices, and "received the benefits of the situation."

Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane, appealed to the coal operators not to coin the blood of the boys who are sent to France into dollars. The room rocked to their applause; and when the secretary had left, the coal committee proceeded to fix a price for coal which Secretary of War Baker and Secretary of the Navy Daniels promptly denounced as "extortionate and excessive." They did this for the sole reason that they thought they could get away with it.

Can you blame them? As long as this nation permits its coal supply to remain in the possession of men who live by gambling in the lives of the nation—who is to blame?

Until the nation declares that all natural resources belong to all the people, we will have no right to complain of this annual robbery, nor any shadow of cause to blame those whom we have begged on bended knee to rob us.

A Sorry Day in Boston

(From The Boston Journal)

A deep disgrace to Boston and a sorry stain to the American uniform—it is a mild judgment of the rioting yesterday in our streets and in that historic park dedicated to the cause of Liberty.

A parade of civilian men and women within their rights and within the law was attacked by American soldiers and sailors. Innocent citizens were injured, private property was destroyed. The free streets and the public park were taken in possession by the uniformed men, and the rights of the civilian were denied.

And this in Boston, U. S. A.—and in a year when the nation has been urged to give its blood to "make the world safe for democracy"!

The Socialists, a political party existing by law, were having one of their customary parades. With the American flag they carried their usual banners, bearing their party inscriptions.

And then along comes a gang of ruffians, dressed in the proudest regalia of the United States, and attacks the persons and the liberties of the paraders, including both men and women.

In Park Square, under the shadow of Abraham Lincoln's statue, a second gang breaks into and plunders the Socialist headquarters, burning furniture and fittings in the street.

The United States uniform lent a hand to breaking, entering and larceny—in broad daylight, in a public square of one of the most populous cities in the country.

The scores of soldiers and sailors who took part in this brutal outbreak have insulted their service, their uniforms and the flag they so cheaply pretended to "honor." By executive order of the President they should be searched out and disciplined; and no citizen who is awake to the value of citizenship rights will rest until such an order has been issued.

Incidentally no single misfortune in all the country in these troublous times has done as much as this will do to harden the hearts of the already numerous skeptics against our war for democracy. If peaceful citizens cannot pursue their orderly way without interference by the military the old fear of "militarism" must rise again.

It will be well for the country if yesterday's outrage is promptly disavowed and as promptly punished. Free America will not stand much of German style military autocracy in its democratic army.

* * *

As for the uniformed men who outraged our citizenry; they are, we are glad to say, only a small part of the whole number of those who have chosen to fight for their country. But it may not be out of place to suggest to the government that, if this is the temper of so many men that further riots are threatened, it's best for the cause of peace at home to hustle these troops to France where they may fight for their lives against an armed force without any spare time for bullying innocent women and tired laborers.

Welcome To Russians

The Socialists of America, the pioneer of industrial democracy in one of the oldest public, sends its hearty good wishes and fraternal greetings to the representatives of Free Russia now in the United States.

We hope that the Russian people will lead the world from despotism to true democracy, industrial as well as social and political.

The Socialist workers of America welcome the people of Russia to the great international brotherhood of the working people—striving for liberty and bread.

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SATURDAY, JULY 14, 1917.

X-RAYS

By JOHN M. WORK.

A CORRESPONDENT, whose inquiry evidently grows out of the East St. Louis riot, wants to know if economic determinism explains the actions of individuals or those of classes.

He says, "I believe the term may be used to explain the reason for one's becoming a highly paid strike breaker, or it may be used to justify the actions of subdivisions of the working class in making a separate peace with the employer."

IN COMMON conversation, when a person has evidently been governed by his financial interest, it is often said that it was a case of economic determinism.

But this is a loose and inaccurate use of the expression.

In a more correct sense, the term means that the mode of making a living is the main factor in determining the nature of social institutions, the course of events, and the character and opinions of the people.

A given individual may or may not be governed by his financial interest. He may be governed by his financial interest at one time and not at another.

But when it comes to society as a whole, while the economic factor is not the only one, it nevertheless affords the chief explanation of both the course and the structure of society.

THERE is a very good reason for this. Let me illustrate.

At a social gathering in a certain small town one evening the young people were telling hair-raising ghost stories. The girls congratulate themselves on the fact that they did not have to go home alone, for they said they wouldn't dare to.

But one young woman made fun of their fears and stoutly maintained that she was not afraid of spooks. To test her courage a young man offered her a silver dollar if she would go alone to a newly made grave in the cemetery near by and return.

She accepted the challenge.

It was decided that she should take a table fork with her and stick it into the grave to prove that she had really gone there. She took the fork and departed. The rest of the young people enjoyed themselves by indulging in many yokes about the creepy time she would have in earning that dollar.

But their merriment was brought to a sudden end by a blood-curdling shriek from the direction of the cemetery.

They ran to the rescue and found the young woman lying across the newly made grave in a dead faint. When they had carried her to the house and brought her around again, she told them with terror in her tones that when she stuck the fork into the grave, something like a hand came out of it and seized her skirt; so she screamed and fainted.

Then the youth who had lifted her from the grave explained that she had run the fork thru the hem of her dress and pinned herself to the ground!

* * *

NOW—as soon as your hair has had time to settle—I want to call your attention to the fact that all men, women and children are pinned to the earth.

They are pinned to the earth with something that is not so tangible that you can seize hold of it like a fork.

But it is something infinitely more powerful.

They are pinned to the earth by their physical needs.

They literally must have food, clothing and shelter.

Without food, clothing and shelter, they would die.

Without food, clothing and shelter in abundance, and obtained with reasonable ease, it is impossible for them to improve their minds or avail themselves of the higher things of life.

Food, clothing and shelter are therefore of first importance.

Take notice that I do not say that they are of greatest importance.

They are not of greatest importance. Mental, moral and spiritual things are of greatest importance.

But food, clothing and shelter are of first importance. First in point of time. We literally have to get them before we can accomplish anything else.

* * *

THE fact that food, clothing and shelter are absolutely necessary to sustain human life is the reason why economic conditions are the dominant factor in shaping institutions, the course of events, and the character and opinions of the people.

But don't expect anything else as long as the private ownership of food continues. The masses of the people, any time they choose, can make a present to themselves of cheaper and better food, if they will but socialize the production and distribution of the things we eat.

Let us hand ourselves that present now.

* * *

BOSSSES are men who have worked their way by secret methods to the place of power they occupy; men who were never elected to anything; men who were not asked by the people to conduct their government, and who are very much more powerful than if you had asked them so long as you leave them where they are; behind closed doors, in secret conference. They are not politicians; they have no policies, except concealed policies of private aggrandizement. A boss isn't a leader of a party. Parties do not meet in back rooms; parties do not make arrangements which do not get into the newspapers. If you reckon them by voting strength, are great masses of men who, because they can't vote any other ticket, vote the ticket that was prepared for them by the aforesaid arrangement in the aforesaid back room in accordance with the aforesaid understanding. A boss is the manipulator of a "machine." A "machine" is that part of a political organization which has been taken out of the hands of the rank and file of the party, captured by half a dozen men. It is the part that has ceased to be political and has become an agency for the purposes of unscrupulous business.

Do not lay up the sins of this kind of business to political organizations. Organization is legitimate, if necessary, is even distinguished, when it lends its

But, since they cannot live without these things, they simply have to yield to economic conditions in order to exist.

The result is, beyond all possibility of doubt, that the main course of society is molded and fashioned by economic conditions.

* * *

BUT what of it?

Just this.

It enables us to understand the past.

It enables us to understand the present.

It enables us to forecast the main outlines of the future.

This economic law, this natural law, enables us to understand the causes of thousands of historical events which have hitherto looked as if they just happened to happen.

We now know that the events occurring in society are chiefly caused by the prevailing economic conditions.

This gives us the key to history.

It just hangs up an electric light over history and illuminates it.

It also enables us to understand how we got into the perplexing economic and political dilemma in which we now find ourselves. It enables us to understand the war. It enables us to understand social phenomena. For example, leaving the motives of the individual strike breaker out of consideration, it thoroly explains strike breaking as an institution.

There are vast numbers of people who are utterly bewildered by the great economic dilemma of the day.

They cannot understand how it happens that we have widespread poverty in the midst of plenty, when it did not use to be so in this country.

They cannot understand why the people are now divided into classes when there did not use to be any clear and distinct class lines in this country.

They cannot understand why a few egregiously rich men now own the vast bulk of the wealth, when it was not formerly so in this country.

They are bewildered.

They cannot see why these things are so.

But the man who understands the economic urge is not perplexed.

He knows that these things are simply the natural outcome of economic development—the development of hand tools, owned by individuals, into great machinery, owned by gigantic corporations, and operated by wage workers who receive a fraction of the value of their labor and yield up the rest to the employers for a chance to work.

* * *

HE KNOWS, too, that it is to the interest of the workers to get the full value of their labor.

He knows that this law urges them on to get it.